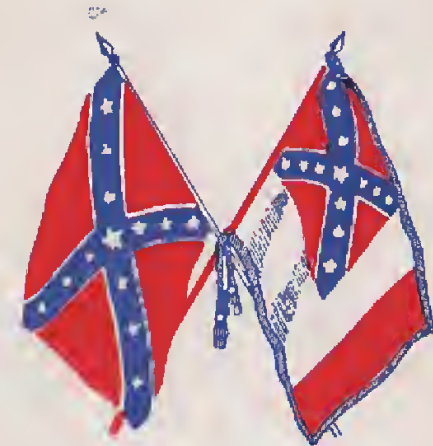


Primer *copy 1*

Facts The Historians Leave Out

A Youth's Confederate Primer



By JOHN S. TILLEY

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LINCOLN TAKES COMMAND

and

THE COMING OF THE GLORY

PRICE FIFTY CENTS

THE PARAGON PRESS
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

FIRST PRINTING, DEC. 1951
SECOND PRINTING, JAN. 1952
THIRD PRINTING, FEB. 1952
FOURTH PRINTING, SEPT. 1952

Address mail orders to John S. Tilley, 105 Washington Avenue, Montgomery, Ala. The price by mail is \$1 for two copies, plus ten cents postage and mailing charges. Print name and address plainly.

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By JOHN S. TILLEY
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

HOW OUR NATION WAS BORN

FIVE great movements ushered in the birth of the nation.

1. The First Continental Congress, which sent to the English King our declaration of rights. Its President was Peyton Randolph.
2. The agitation for armed resistance. Its leader was Patrick Henry.
3. The Declaration of Independence. Its author was Thomas Jefferson.
4. The War of The Revolution. Our Commander-in-Chief was George Washington.
5. The adoption of the Constitution. Its "father" was James Madison.

Does it signify anything that Randolph, Henry, Jefferson, Washington, and Madison were all Southern men?

Some other contributions. Jefferson promoted the Louisiana Purchase, nearly doubling the area of the United States. In a critical period, Andrew Jackson led our armies to victory at New Orleans. Polk guided our government during the War with Mexico and led to

our securing about one million square miles of new Territory including Texas, New Mexico, and California. John Marshall was chiefly responsible for the early prestige of our Supreme Court.

Jefferson, Jackson, Polk, Marshall, all were Southerners.

Call the roll of our Presidents during the period between The War of the Revolution and the War Between the States. Four of the first five, seven of the first ten, ten of the first sixteen Presidents of the United States were sons of the South.

The brilliant Southern record came to a tragic end in 1861. Since that date, The South has been the nation's step-child.

WAS THE WAR OF THE SIXTIES FOUGHT OVER THE ISSUE OF SLAVERY?

DID THE North fight the war to free the slaves? That is a fair question. Maybe, you have come to believe that such a motive inspired the terrible struggle.

But, was that the cause?

Of all the leaders of that period, who do you think best qualified to know the true answer? Would not it have been Abraham Lincoln?

And, what do we learn from him?

He had served in Congress with Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia. On December 22, 1860, just two days after South Carolina left the Union, he wrote to Mr. Stephens:

"Do the people of the South really entertain fears that a Republican administration would, directly or indirectly, interfere with their slaves, or with them about their slaves? If they do, I wish to assure you, as once a friend, and still, I hope, not an enemy, that there is no cause for such fears."

On the next fourth of March he became President. Had he changed his mind? Just after he took the oath of office, he said in his inaugural address:

"I declare that I have no intention, directly or indirectly, to interfere with slavery in the states where it exists."

Not only that. In 1862, when the war had been in progress for more than a year, Republican senators urged him to take action to free the slaves. He answered:

"Gentlemen, I can't do it . . . But I'll tell you what I can do; I can resign in favor of Mr. Hamlin. Perhaps Mr. Hamlin could do it."

There is the record. Was Mr. Lincoln, then, in favor of slavery? He was not. He believed it to be wrong and was opposed to allowing it to expand into new states; but, he thought he had no right to interfere with it in the states in which it already existed.

DID THE SOUTHERN ARMIES FIGHT TO PRESERVE SLAVERY?

ROBERT E. LEE was the South's leading General. Not only had he freed the slaves under his control, but he had declared that slavery was "a moral and political evil." It was his view that "the best men in the South" opposed the system, and that they would welcome a sane movement to be rid of it. He was convinced that, in time, "the mild and melting influence of Christianity," rather than war, would solve the problem.

Stonewall Jackson agreed with Lee's view. He wished to see the shackles struck from every slave.

So, clearly, these great leaders of the Confederates were not fighting to retain a system which they hated.

What of the soldiers who marched behind Lee and Jackson? Bear in mind that only one in fifteen of Southern whites ever owned a slave. All in all, there were fewer than 350,000 Southern slave-owners.

But there were some 600,000 soldiers in the Confederate armies. So, if all the slave-owners were in uniform — and, certainly, they were not — this still leaves several hundred thousand soldiers with no personal interest in slavery.

What were these non-slaveholders fighting for?

You have read of John Brown who defied the law, attacked and occupied the armory at Harper's Ferry. He was captured by United States Army forces led by a Virginia Colonel by the name of Robert E. Lee. His execution took place in Virginia, a state presided over by Governor Henry A. Wise. It may interest you to learn that, not only the Virginia Colonel and the Virginia Governor, but a majority of the people of Virginia were then sincerely opposed to slavery.

Southern opposition to slavery was not something new. Daniel Webster once declared that the leading spirits of the South regarded it as "an evil, a blight, a scourge, and a curse." He might have called the roll, a roll including such

names as Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, John Randolph, and George Mason.

WHO IMPORTED THE SLAVES FROM AFRICA?

OF COURSE, slavery was an ugly blot on American history. And, you know that many Southerners owned slaves; so, our section deserves its share of the blame.

But, how did the slaves get here?

That's a question which, even though your histories are strangely silent, you would like to have answered.

British and Dutch vessels engaged in the slave trade, and by slave trade is meant bringing them over from Africa. But, there were also American ships in the ugly business; and, though the historians have carefully steered clear of the fact, practically every one of them was owned and operated by Northerners.

The Puritans of Massachusetts not only captured their Pequot Indian neighbors and sold them into slavery in the West Indies; they also carried on a large trade in negroes imported from over seas. Just to give you an idea, be-

tween 1755 and 1766, the importers landed on Massachusetts shores no fewer than 23,000 African captives.

In 1787, Rhode Island held first place in the traffic. Later, New York City forged to the front in the trade. Philadelphia soon found the slave-business attractive. The traders could buy a slave in Africa for a few gallons of rum and sell him in this country at a fantastic profit. So, it is no mystery how they made fabulous fortunes.

It was made unlawful to import slaves after the year 1808. Did this put a stop to the traffic?

If it did, why did Congress in 1820 brand the slave-trade as "piracy"? The answer is that Northern smugglers were bringing in each year some 40,000 Africans.

And why, in 1860, did President Buchanan boast that "since the date of my last annual message, not a single slave has been imported into the United States in violation of the law"?

And why, in 1861, long after the outbreak of

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war and fifty-three years after the trade had been outlawed, did President Lincoln write to Congress that "five vessels, being fitted out for the slave trade, have been seized and condemned"?

And, how did it happen that in December 1858 a New York City slave-ship secretly landed 420 slaves on the coast of Georgia?

The answer to the questions is simple.

For easy money, Northern importers of slaves were openly defying the law.

And, what did the Northern traders do with their slaves?

They sold them to Southern planters. Thus it came about that, in the year 1860, there were in the South some 3,500,000 slaves for whom the Southern people had paid the Northern traders millions of dollars.

Coming back to Mr. Lincoln, it may interest you to learn that, over and over again, he freely admitted that, for the existence of slavery in this country, the North was as responsible as the South.

WERE SOUTHERN MASTERS BRUTAL TO THEIR SLAVES?

BEYOND QUESTION, some masters cruelly whipped and abused their slaves. Every right-thinking Southerner is ashamed of that record.

Has it occurred to you that, even today, some husbands and fathers brutally beat their wives and children? That, however, doesn't prove that all husbands and fathers are brutes, does it?

And, at times, unruly children have to be punished. It was so with the slaves. Most of them were childlike, good-natured, well-behaved. But not all! There were those who were treacherous and dangerous and who could be controlled only by the use of force.

Consider also that the only reason the planter bought slaves was that he needed them to work. If he paid \$1,000.00 for a worker, would he be likely to starve or mistreat him?

Fortunately some foreigners visited the South in those days for study of the situation. Buckingham, a distinguished Englishman,

wrote that the slaves were as well off as were English servants in the middle rank of life. He found them "well-fed, well-dressed, and easy to be governed."

Just before the outbreak of war, a Northern student, Olmsted by name, traveled through the South to investigate conditions. In 1856 he published a book on the subject. He wrote that the slaves had food and clothing in plenty; that their "health and comfort" were better looked after than was that of many free servants; that as a rule, they were treated with kindness; that frequently their marriage rites were performed in the home of the master by the master's own minister; that in many places owners and slaves worshipped together in the same church; that he heard little "of harshness or cruelty."

Now, while we are talking of cruelty, what of the Northern importers' treatment of the slaves? One of these days you should read a book which describes their trip over from Africa. Often, it recites, they were packed into tiny vessels from 60 to 70 feet in length; they were placed between decks and the space there

was from 3 feet, 6 inches, to 3 feet, 10 inches; thus, they had to sit or lie down except that at times trusties were allowed above deck for exercise.

Get that picture. Think of the weeks-long voyage, the crowding, the heat between decks, the rough seas, the seasickness, the absence of bath or comfort rooms.

When Mr. Lincoln came to Washington in 1847, he found there slave-markets which he described as "a sort of negro livery stable." And when he asked questions, he learned that the slaves were held there only until they could be sold to Southern markets.

One thing more. Have you ever wondered how it comes about that nearly every member of the colored race is a Christian? Many of them were uncivilized in their African home. But, after living for some years in close contact with their Southern owners, they embraced the Christian faith. Do you think that they would have adopted the religion of masters who were brutal to them?

THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

IF YOU haven't studied the Proclamation, you are headed for a shock when you read it carefully.

It says in so many words that the Proclamation is "a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion." That means that Lincoln thought it would make it easier for Northern armies to win the war and subjugate the South.

It undertook to free the slaves only in the States and "parts of States" which were then in possession of the Confederate Government. It names ten Southern States but goes on to explain that it does not apply to West Virginia, or to thirteen named parishes of Louisiana, or to seven named counties of Virginia. As to these, it recites, "which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this Proclamation were not issued." The Northern armies had regained possession of the "excepted parts"; so their slaves were not affected.

If the Proclamation was a heaven-born movement to free the slaves, why were those in the "excepted parts" left out? And, why did Lincoln delay issuing it until January 1, 1863, when the war had been in progress for nearly two years? And, why does the Proclamation fail even to mention the States of Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri? Why did it leave in slavery the slaves in those States?

Lincoln's performance amused Palmerston, the Premier of England. Palmerston arose tauntingly to observe that Lincoln undertook to abolish slavery where he was without power to do so, while protecting it where he had full power to destroy it.

The trouble was that what Lincoln was aiming at was the crippling of the Confederate war effort. He knew that the Southerners were using slaves at the front in such tasks as the digging of trenches. He knew also that revolt of these and other slaves would likely bring collapse of Southern resistance. Hence, the "necessary war measure."

Again, Lincoln was aware that the British were seriously considering coming to the aid of the South. But the British were opposed to slavery and he knew that their enthusiasm would be weakened if it was made to appear that emancipation was part of the Northern program. So, he resorted to his grand gesture, utterly insincere though it was.

In the words of Woodrow Wilson:

"It was necessary to put the South at a moral disadvantage by transforming the contest from a war waged against States fighting for their independence, into a war against States fighting for the maintenance and extension of slavery, by making some move for emancipation as the real motive of the struggle."

Lincoln's scheme worked. Despite Palmerston's seeing through the sham, the English nation was persuaded to abandon the idea of intervention in the struggle.

There were others who were not deceived.

Edward Channing, the well-known New England historian, was honest enough to write of the Proclamation:

"Of course, it did not abolish slavery as an institution anywhere."

WHY THE PLANTERS FOUGHT TO KEEP THEIR SLAVES

IN THE early period of the nation, there was little or no opposition to slavery. Witness the Constitution's provision for the return of runaway slaves; and, don't forget that the North as well as the South adopted it with full knowledge that it recognized and protected slavery.

Later, the North began to get rid of its slaves, not by freeing them, but by selling them to Southern planters. The planters enlarged their farms and secured more slaves to cultivate them; in time, there were several million slaves working on multiplied thousands of farms. Agriculture soon became the principal business. When agriculture was successful, the Southerners as a whole prospered. Any thing which injured it, injured merchants, bankers, railroads, and other forms of business.

The day arrived when the South waked up to the fact that, deprived of the labor of the slaves, the entire business structure of the

South would face collapse with poverty and ruin stalking the land. So, do you wonder that the planters held on grimly to their slave system?

Try an illustration. Suppose that, after long years of hard work, your father had built up a successful business. Suppose that he had a splendid plant and a loyal group of employes on whose labor everything depended. Then suppose that some organization fathered a plan which would rob him of every employe. Do you think he would let them go without a struggle?

That is precisely what the Northern fanatics succeeded in doing with the agricultural labor of the South. They freed, not all the labor on one plantation, but all the labor on all the plantations. They did this without paying the planters one cent.

To give you an idea of what all this meant, in 1860 there were in the South some three and one-half million slaves; the value of the average

slave was about one thousand dollars. This was the investment completely wiped out by crusaders from the very section which had then, and still has, the purchase money paid by the planters for their slaves.

WHAT ARE STATES RIGHTS?

IN 1781, the original thirteen States entered into a "Confederation", and drew up "Articles", one of which said:

"Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States."

That meant simply that the independent States were willing to join together as the "United States", and to give to this "Union" certain powers; but they carefully kept for themselves all other powers. This involves what is called States Rights.

You know of the Revolutionary War. When it ended, England and the "United States" signed a peace treaty, which opened with these words:

"His Britannic Majesty acknowledges the said United States, viz., New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New

York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, to be free, sovereign, and independent States."

So, England was making peace, not with the Confederation, but with thirteen "independent" States.

Later, when our new "Constitution" was written, it had to be accepted by the States, one by one. A Constitutional Convention met in 1787 to consider it.

Georgia's delegates to the Convention carried commissions which opened with the words:

"The State of Georgia, by the grace of God, Free, Sovereign, and Independent."

The commissions of the New York delegates closed with the words:

"This 9th day of May, in the 11th year of the Independence of the said State."

The reference to "the 11th year" is explained by the fact that the Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776, the New York commissions in 1787.

There is more than that. When New York voted to accept the new Constitution which gave certain powers to Congress, it said:

"That the powers of government may be reassumed by the people, whensoever it shall become necessary to their happiness."

That meant that, should it think such action necessary, New York reserved the right to leave the Union and to govern itself.

Also, Virginia, in its acceptance said:

"That the powers granted under the Constitution, being derived from the people of the United States, may be resumed by them, whensoever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression."

Feeling injured and oppressed, Virginia "resumed" those powers when the State left the Union in 1861. So did all the other seceding States.

You will learn that Article X of the Constitution itself says:

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited

by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

The powers given the United States were those necessary to protect all the people of all the States, such as raising an army, coining money, collecting taxes, regulating commerce, admitting new citizens, protecting authors and inventors. These and other powers granted did not give the United States government the right to interfere in affairs in which only the citizens of a State were concerned.

Maybe, an example will help. You live in your home and your home is in a town. Your town has a government and you are glad that it has, for you and all the town people can look to it for protection. You wouldn't, however, like for the town government to try to dictate matters inside your home. That's your affair. Just so, the States felt that their own affairs, their "local" problems, could be managed without meddling from the outside.

It was only when the Washington government began reaching out for too much power,

and to intrude into problems of the States, that the issue of States Rights became important. The people who believe in States Rights are loyal to the United States, but they wish to be let alone to manage their local affairs. They fear that the Federal government may become so strong that in time everything will be run from Washington.

NORTHERN VIOLATION OF STATES RIGHTS

THAT THE war of the sixties was not fought to free the slaves, the words of Lincoln himself have proved. But, constant meddling by Northerners with this, among other problems, did drive the South from the Union.

Of course, you know that today all of us condemn slavery as wrong. But in the early days of the government many held a different view. The leading men, from North and South alike, took part in adopting our Constitution. Not only did a majority of these leaders believe that slavery should be protected; they wrote into the Constitution itself that a person "held to service" under the laws of a State, who escaped into a State where slavery was not allowed, should "be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service may be due."

All of which means simply that runaway slaves should be returned to their masters.

Remember that the Southern owners neither

stole nor captured their slaves. Bear in mind always that they bought them, bought them from Northern slave-importers, and paid large sums of money for them.

There were thousands of Southerners who were opposed to slavery. They would have liked to see the slaves freed. But they knew of the owners' immense investment in them and, further, that without their labor the South would be terribly crippled. They hoped with Robert E. Lee that some fair solution would be found.

They did not, however, think it right that the North, which had grown rich by the traffic, should undertake to free them by force and without repaying to their owners one cent of the purchase money.

Mr. Lincoln knew perfectly well that the North had no legal right to interfere with slavery in the States where it existed. He knew that when the slave-owners bought their slaves, it was entirely lawful to buy them. He knew that the Constitution protected them in this right, as well as in the right to hold them.

But there were fanatics in the North who were unwilling to wait until the slaves could be freed in a peaceable and lawful manner, and without bringing ruin on the South. What cared they for law and the Constitution? In 1854, one of their leaders, Garrison by name, celebrated the fourth of July, "Independence Day", by publicly burning a copy of the Constitution of the United States! He denounced it as "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

The fire-eaters did more than preach hatred of slavery and hatred for the Southern people. As their numbers grew, they became bolder. They set out to encourage the millions of slaves to rise against their masters, to burn and to murder. They flooded the Southern mails with dangerous appeals to the slaves until even President Andrew Jackson denounced them for trying "to produce the horrors of a servile war." You can realize what all this meant by recalling that one-third of all the people in the South were slaves.

The fanatics succeeded, succeeded all too

well. Consider one of many examples. In 1831, in Southampton County, Virginia, Nat Turner with sixty other slaves ran wild for two days and nights; they murdered Turner's owner, and the owner's family, and half a hundred other helpless victims.

In 1859, John Brown organized a band of 1,300 armed fanatics, descended on Harper's Ferry, Virginia, stormed the armory, and took possession of the village. They carried specially-made weapons with which to arm the slaves. It required a force of the United States Army to overcome and subdue them.

Do you wonder that the prospect of slave uprisings carried terror to every Southern homestead? This, and other acts of an unfriendly section, led the Southerners to leave the Union to form their own government, one which could and would give protection to their families and homes.

WAS SECESSION TREASON?

YOU HAVE read that some Northerners demanded that Robert E. Lee be executed for treason. And, maybe you know that the captors of Jefferson Davis subjected the aged man to torture which would have done credit to a horde of savages.

Were Lee and Davis and their followers criminals because of their exercise of the right to secede?

Let us go again to Abraham Lincoln. He said in 1847 on the floor of Congress:

"Any people, anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, a most sacred right, a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world."

Don't miss the point that 1847 was just thirteen years before the South began to secede.

If what Lincoln taught was good doctrine in 1847, why not in 1860? And, did not "any people, anywhere" take in the people of the South?

Little wonder that an English historian, Goldwyn Smith, commented that Southern secession could not have asked a clearer support than this statement by Lincoln.

Going further back: referring to the right to safety and happiness, the Declaration of Independence said:

"Whenever any form of government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to abolish it, and to institute a new government."

And, a glance at some New England history may prove of interest.

In 1803, New England leaders grew white with rage over the idea of admitting Louisiana into the Union. Senator Plumer of New Hampshire said:

"The Eastern States must and will dissolve the Union and form a separate government

of their own; and the sooner they do this, the better."

Senator Pickering of Massachusetts wrote:

"I rather anticipate a new Confederacy exempt from the corrupt influence of the aristocratic Democrats of the South . . . There will be a separation . . . The British provinces (of Canada), even with the consent of Great Britain, will become members of the Northern Confederacy."

There you have it! A NORTHERN CONFEDERACY.

You haven't read much about **that** in your histories, have you? Their plan did not succeed but they tried to carry it out.

Then, in 1814, New England held its famous "Hartford Convention" which plainly considered secession from the Union.

Not only in 1814. Again in 1845, John Quincy Adams and fellow New Englanders so opposed the admission of Texas that they openly urged withdrawal from the Union.

1845 was just fifteen years before Southern secession.

Keep in mind that Virginia carefully reserved the right to leave the Union; all Southern States believed in such a right.

About the time of the graduation of Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis, West Point was using a text-book which left no doubt of the right of a State to withdraw.

So! When at last the South acted, it followed an example suggested by New England, first in 1803, again in 1814, and still again in 1845.

WAS GEORGE WASHINGTON A TRAITOR?

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS was a member of the Adams family of Massachusetts. He wrote that, when the Constitution was adopted, it was fully understood that each State had the right to leave the Union.

Northern abuse of Robert E. Lee caused Adams to flame with indignation. "If Lee was a traitor," he said, "so also was George Washington."

What, indeed, was the American Revolution but a secession of the thirteen States from Great Britain?

Lay side by side the movements of 1776 and 1860. On the one hand the heavy burden of the Stamp Act tax, on the other the harsh unfairness of a sectional tariff. In 1776 the arrogance of the English, in 1860 the bitter abuse by the abolitionists. In Washington's day English assumption that talk of American independence was treason, in Lee's time the atti-

tude of a hostile North that mention of separation from the Union was sedition. In the Revolutionary era the threat of the British to use their army and navy to prevent the colonies from breaking away from the Empire; in the Southern secession period the intention of the North to resort to force to hold the South in the Union.

Which, then, was glorious revolution and which infamous rebellion? What if the British had come to the aid of the South, as for a time they considered doing, and the South had emerged as an independent nation of States of which one alone was larger in area than England, France, Italy, or Germany?

In what respect of principle would the historian have found a difference between the War of Independence of 1776 and the War of Independence in 1861?

WAS THERE SUFFERING IN SOUTHERN PRISONS?

MUCH HAS been written about suffering in Southern prisons.

Strangely, the histories ignore the main reason for it.

Critics have complained bitterly of the poor quality of food provided. The fact is that the rations supplied the prisoners were the same as those issued to Confederate soldiers in the field.

The time came when, shut off from the world by the blockade, the South experienced the greatest difficulty in obtaining medicine which had been made contraband by an order of the Federal government. By 1864 conditions became so desperate that the South actually offered to purchase from the North such needed supplies, agreeing to pay either in gold, cotton, or tobacco. This offer made plain that Union surgeons might bring the medicines down and use them solely to minister to Union prisoners. To this offer there was no reply.

The Union soldiers held in Southern prisons outnumbered by 50,000 the Confederates imprisoned in the North. This was revealed in a report made in 1866 by Stanton, Lincoln's Secretary of War. The report showed further that 26,246 Confederates died in Northern prisons as against 22,576 Union soldiers dying in Southern prisons.

Much of this suffering and death could have been prevented by an exchange of prisoners.

A leading authority says:

"It is indisputably established that the Confederate authorities constantly pressed exchanges on equal terms, that they proposed many measures of relief which were denied, that at length the most pitiable and unusual of all spectacles occurred when a deputation of Union soldiers appeared in Washington, sent by Mr. Davis, to plead for release by fair exchange, and to plead in vain."

General Grant wrote to General Butler in 1864:

"It is hard on our men held in Southern prisons not to exchange them, but it is humanity to those left in the ranks to fight our battles. Every man released on parole becomes an active soldier against us at once. If we commence a system of exchange which liberates all prisoners taken, we will have to fight on until the whole South is exterminated. If we hold those caught, they amount to no more than dead men."

All of which adds up to this. The North, with overwhelming numbers, could easily replace captured men; the South had called up every available man and each soldier lost made it just that much weaker. So, rather than yield on the exchange of prisoners, or on sending their surgeons with medicines, Lincoln and Grant simply preferred to forget their suffering and dying comrades.

There is another story, one not so frequently told, the story of the Southern soldiers, thinly clad, who froze to death in Northern prisons.

"WITH MALICE TOWARD NONE —
WITH CHARITY FOR ALL"

(Lincoln Inaugural March 4, 1865)

AT FORT PICKENS, Florida, in 1861, Southern and Northern forces signed an agreement to delay the opening of conflict. The Southern Commander signed for the South, the Secretaries of War and Navy for the North. Lincoln deliberately carried out a violation of this agreement.

Later, Lincoln cunningly tricked the South into firing on Fort Sumter. He pretended that he was sending only "provisions" to a starving garrison, when he knew that it was not starving. Along with "provisions", he sent reinforcements consisting of warships, troops, guns, and ammunition. He had definite knowledge that this would bring an attack on the fort. Thus was begun a war which slaughtered hundreds of thousands of young men.

More than that. Lincoln was commander-in-

chief of all Northern forces when Sherman won his never-to-be-forgotten victory over the helpless women and children of Georgia. Reporting that campaign, Sherman himself wrote:

"I estimate the damage done as at least one hundred million dollars, twenty million of which has enured to our advantage, and the remainder is simple waste and destruction."

Instead of censuring Sherman for disregarding the rules of civilized warfare by burning Atlanta, Lincoln wrote him, "The undertaking being a great success, the honor is all yours."

William Gilmore Simms, an outstanding scholar of the Old South, a man of unquestioned honor and character, was an eye-witness of Sherman's performance in defenseless South Carolina. He writes some details of the march:

"Half-naked people cowered from the winter in bush-tents in the thickets . . . All these repeated the same story of suffering, violence, poverty and nakedness. Village after village — one sending up signal flames to the other — lighted the winter and mid-

night sky with common horrors. The inhabitants, black no less than white, were left to starve, compelled to feed only upon garbage found in the abandoned camps of the soldiers. The corn, scraped up from where the horses fed, has been the only means of life to thousands but lately in affluence."

Next, as to the burning of Columbia. Hear one paragraph:

"Ladies were hustled from their chambers, their ornaments plucked from their persons. It was in vain that the mother appealed for the garments of her children. They were torn from her grasp and hurled into the flames. In several cases, newly-made graves were opened, the coffins taken out, broken open in search of buried treasure, and the corpses left exposed."

Lincoln was informed of the purpose and plan of the march. He had good reason to anticipate what would happen; it had just happened to Atlanta and the State of Georgia. And, he had praised Sherman for that.

After which, you are prepared to read again:
"With malice toward none — with charity
for all."

The Lincoln cult has labored to build up a "friend of the South" theory. They insist that he was willing to pay the South for its slaves. Lincoln did at one time indulge in a grandstand flourish of talk of compensation — it was born in talk, and died in talk. Edgar Lee Masters poignantly diagnoses the hypocrisy with the observation that Lincoln's real feeling toward the South was one of hidden and deep malignancy.

SOME REASONS WHY THE SOUTH SECEDED

FROM THE beginning, Southerners and Northerners were not congenial. This is explained in part by a remark by George Cabot, a New Englander, when, referring to his section, he said, "There is among the body of the people more wisdom and virtue than in any other part of the United States."

The North soon became a manufacturing section. The South had turned to agriculture. Presently, Congress invented a "protective tariff", a scheme to increase the profits of Northern factories. For example, suppose that England could make a hat cheaply enough to earn a profit by selling in the South for \$5, but that the North could not make a profit on its hats without charging \$6. Then suppose that Congress placed a \$2 tax, or tariff, on the English hat, thus enabling the Northern factories to get the business because the purchaser would have to pay the English \$7, when he could secure it from the North for \$6. Such

tariffs became so unfair that strong feeling arose between the sections.

Again, in the early days, indeed until 1860, the North was jealous of the South's political influence. About 1860, however, the Republican Party had grown powerful enough to elect Lincoln. So earnestly did the South object to Lincoln that it did not give him a single electoral vote. So came into control a party openly hostile to Southern interests. Feeling between the sections reached the boiling point.

Next, fanatics, called "Abolitionists", began a crusade to free the Southern slaves. One of their plans was to incite the slaves to rise against their masters, to pillage, to burn, and to kill. They poured such torrents of abuse on the slave-owners that even some fairminded Northerners freely expressed disgust. But this did not quiet the fanatics. They cried out that Southern planters were infamously immoral. One enthusiast wrote that Southern young men came North to find wives, this because of their fear that Southern girls might not be of the

highest character. They went so far as to denounce the Southern churches, branding some memberships as "incarnate fiends", others as "endorsers of crimes of depraved humanity." Soon, there were slave uprisings, ushering in a reign of terror.

The South became more and more aroused by the vitriolic abuse. As a group of sovereign States, it had willingly entered the Union; but now that conditions were becoming unbearable, it recalled Lincoln's declaration that "any people, anywhere" had the right "to shake off the existing government."

South Carolina seceded in 1860. In her borders was Fort Sumter with a Northern garrison. The State demanded possession of the fort and offered to pay for it. No attack was made, but the State announced that it should not be reinforced. Then, Lincoln deliberately sent warships and troops to strengthen the garrison. He knew perfectly well that the Carolinians would not permit this. And, just as he had planned it, the South "fired the first shot", and the war was on.

If you could have asked a Confederate soldier to tell why the South seceded, he would probably have included the following reasons:

1. Our States went into the Union with the understanding that they had the right to withdraw. When membership proved unhappy, we exercised that right.

2. We were sick and tired of being gypped by harsh tariff laws which enriched the North at our expense.

3. We were fed up with insane abuse from a group of South-hating fanatics.

4. Northerners had inspired murderous slave uprisings; why should we sit silently by and wait for more?

5. The Republicans, preaching hatred for the South, had elected a President who, as we had every reason to know, was not our friend.

6. We had bought our slaves from Northerners; it seemed hardly fair for the North to take them away from us without returning at least some of the money which we had paid for them.


7. With New England lording itself as

superior to all other sections, why should we continue to tolerate such snobbish airiness?

8. We had no idea of making war on the North. Lincoln's reinforcement of Sumter brought about the bombardment. All that we wished and planned was to go our own way and to be let alone.

Lest you fall into the error of thinking that only the Southerners believed that they had the right to go their own way and to be let alone, hear what Henry Cabot Lodge, one of the New England Brahmins, had to say:

"When the Constitution was adopted, there was not a man in the country who regarded the system as anything but an experiment entered upon by the States, and from which each and every State had the right peaceably to withdraw, a right which was very likely to be exercised."



"The sword is mighty, but
principles laugh at swords.
Overwhelming force may
crush truth to earth but,
crushed or not, truth is
still truth."

---*The Coming of the Glory.*

